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754 sorcerizing people? This place is no good." Then there would follow speculations as to who the guilty party could be. Comments like this were frequently made: "There were some children from Tug sib wandering about the hamlet this afternoon. The Tug train their children to steal sorcery material. We had better be careful with our food leavings." Or, "Yat asked me for my cigarette butt to get a light this afternoon. I do not remember that he gave it back. I'll bet that he kept it for sorcery material. He had better not try anything or I'll show him. If I get sick I'll know who is the cause of it."

The Kwoma preoccupation with sorcery is so marked that they are notorious for it. The river people look upon them as "man bilong poison." My Yambon houseboy was extremely nervous about being stationed at Kwoma and was constantly warning me of the danger of sorcery. He finally became ill and, being sure that some Kwoma who wished him ill was causing it, fled home despite my protestations. Gwiyap once told me that he wished I would take him to America, where, [177] I had told him, there was no sorcery. Some of the young men who had recently returned from working for European enterprises talked of banding together to put an end to sorcery.

754 627 • 683 It is not surprising that a person suspected of sorcery has a difficult time at Kwoma. Anyone caught stealing sorcery material may be killed on the spot, and his close relatives will receive little support in any plan for retaliation. If the relatives of a sorcery victim succeed in fastening on someone the responsibility for the victim's sickness, the sorcerer is in danger of his life unless he nullifies the magic and the sick man recovers.[81] To sorcerize a relative is a particularly heinous crime, and, if it were proved that a man had done such a thing, he would be ostracized from the community. Kwoma society permits a man to use sorcery only against someone who has committed a capital crime[82] against him or one of his relatives.

[81] This does not apply to sorcerers who work their magic for pay. The person who hires the sorcerer is held responsible for the crime. The professional sorcerer usually does not know the identity of the victim, but he is hated, feared, and if possible avoided.

[82] Rape, murder, arson, or sorcery.

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609 578 [156] [123] you know enough to keep non-relatives out of your house? No one is going to keep these people from stealing from you if you are afraid to protect your own rights."

Although a man must be aggressive when he is threatened by a non-relative, he must not be disproportionately so. In general, the amount of aggression he may show is determined [685] by the kind and amount of threat that he has endured. If he catches a non-relative in the act of stealing or trespassing, he may beat him on the spot or threaten him with a spear, but may not kill him. If he discovers the crime after it is done, he may threaten physical violence unless reparations are [692] made. If the thief or trespasser refuses to comply with these demands, a court session is held in which the principals meet with their relatives and discuss the matter until an equitable [683] settlement is made. If a man detects a non-relative stealing [684] sorcery material, or raping a wife or sister, he may kill him on the spot. If he discovers that a non-relative is having an affair with his wife or sister, he may threaten or beat him but may not kill him. Following this he may retaliate by seducing [626] a sister or wife of the man whom he has discovered. If a man suspects a non-relative of sorcery, he may openly accuse him and turn public opinion against him in order to make him stop. If it is well established that a non-relative has been guilty of sorcery, the victim or his relative is not condemned for retaliating in kind.

609 578 626 A man is inhibited from being disproportionately aggressive toward a non-relative by a complex of sanctions. In any controversy between two unrelated members of the tribe, three groups appear: the relatives of the aggressor, the relatives of the victim, and those who are related to neither. If the behavior of the aggressor is deemed appropriate, he will be supported in his action by his own relatives and by the group related to neither principal. Furthermore, although his relatives will support the victim and will verbally threaten and insult the aggressor and his relatives, they will take no physical step toward counteraggression. Then, too, there are always persons among the relatives of the victim who are related to someone in the aggressor group, and who therefore